42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful
Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *uród*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyâin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnâin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. [431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Áyáyam: Toy.

Lullupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dĕwa*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kĕláy*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834